been reasons for some people to feel hurt and, therefore, I am hoping that after the Home Minister finishes his statement in the other House, he will come here in the later part of the day and make a statement to clarify various issues that hon. Members may like him to clarify.

I would like to say only two words on this....

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, we don't want any clarification from the Home Minister. We seek an apology from him.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, what is this? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Sir, Mr. Ahluwalia is a very senior Member of this House and seasoned one...

AN HON. MEMBER: He was Minister also.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: He was everything. The main point basically is that whenever a Minister comes here and if something has been said about him or by him or assigned to him, he has every right to come and say what he said and what he did not say and the hon. House has every opportunity to discuss with him when he comes here. Therefore, why prejudge the issues? That is my only submission to this House.

I would also like to say this thing that may I on my own behalf and on behalf of the Government say that no one on this side of the House wishes to injure the feelings of my friends in the Congress Party. We have the highest esteem and respect for the President of the Congress Party, Shri Narasimha Rao...

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: Since when?

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Since you played that role. And, we have no intentions on behalf of the United Front or the Government to ruffle anybody's feelings. And, I think, I should stop at that.

Another point that has been raised is about the L.P.G. I think, my hon. friends would have noticed that the Prime Minister has categorically said that there is not going to be any revision of prices. Now, whatever your views may be, that is a different issue. But, that is the Government's stand.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANA SAMY): Now we have the statement on India's position with regard to the Comprehensive Text Ban Treaty (CTBT).

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT): Let the statement come. ...*(Interruption)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANA SAMY): Let the statement be distributed. Kindly wait for a minute ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री महेश्वर सिंह: महोदय, एक सबमिशन थी। पांच दिन पूर्व हिमाचल प्रदेश के मंडी ज़िले में एक एयर-क्रैश हुआ। मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि वे डीटेल्ड स्टेटमेंट के साथ इस सदन में आएंगे। पांच दिन बीतने पर भी आज तक स्टेटमेंट नहीं आया। इस संदर्भ में शून्य काल में मैंने यह मामला उठाया, जॉन फर्नांडिस जी ने उसको सपोर्ट किया लेकिन पांच दिन बीतने पर भी मंत्री महोदय स्टेटमेंट नहीं दे रहे हैं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि मंत्री महोदय को निर्देश दें कि वे यहां स्टेटमेंट दें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): I have already brought it to the notice of the Minister of Civil Aviation. I think he will come before the House...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री महेश्वर सिंह: यह महत्वपूर्ण मामला है। इतने लोगों की जानें गई और मंत्री जी स्टेटमेंट नहीं दे रहे हैं।

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

India's Position with Regard to the Comprehensive test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I.K. GUJRAL): Sir, through you, may I seek the indulgence of the House on two points? One is that I am going to address myself, with due permission of the House, on a very

serious national issue, i.e., the CTBT, but before I start making my statement I may say that there are some typographical mistakes in the copies of my statement which have been distributed to the Members. So, kindly go by what I am saying now. May I begin, Sir?

Almost fifty years ago, India took the lead in calling for a ban on nuclear testing. In fact, in this very Parliament, Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the Lok Sabha on 2nd April, 1954, after the first hydrogen bomb test was conducted, called for a "stand still" agreement to halt nuclear testing pending progress towards elimination of nuclear weapons. Since then, we have persisted with our efforts to convince the international community of the need for a CTBT which would bring an end to the qualitative development of nuclear weapons and mark the first step on the road to nuclear disarmament.

In the Conference on Disarmament, the CTBT negotiations have been going on for two and a half years. The negotiators have an unambiguous mandate to conclude a CTBT which would "contribute effectively to the prevention of proliferation in all aspects, to the process of nuclear disarmament and, therefore, to the enhancement of international peace and security." We have participated actively and constructively in these negotiations and have put forward a number of proposals consistent with the mandate. We have stated clearly that the CTBT must be truly comprehensive and not leave any loopholes that would permit nuclear weapon states to continue refining and developing their nuclear arsenals at their test sites and laboratories. We have underscored the importance of placing the CTBT in a universal disarmament framework, as a part of a step-by-step process aimed at achieving complete elimination of all nuclear weapons within a time-bound framework.

It is a matter of regret that the CTBT, as it has emerged, does not do justice to the mandate. Without being anchored in the nuclear disarmament framework, it will not contribute to the process of nuclear disarmament. Our proposals were put forward in a constructive spirit in order to engage in negotiations. These were not presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. What we are seeking is a commitment to engage in negotiations that will lead to the elimination of nuclear weapons within a time-frame. Naturally, we have our own idea of what is a reasonable time-frame but we are willing to negotiate this with other countries. We realise that such negotiations are not part of the CTBT but we would like the CTBT to act as a catalyst for these negotiations. Without such a commitment reflected in the CTBT, we are convinced that this treaty will be an end in itself rather than a first step on the road to nuclear disarmament. Unfortunately, the nuclear weapon states remain un-willing to any meaningful commitment with regard to eliminating their nuclear arsenals.

Our nuclear policy, as expressed in the CTBT negotiations, is intimately linked with our national security concerns. We have never accepted the notion that it can be considered ligitimate for some countries to rely on nuclear weapons for their security while denying this right to others. This has been a consistent policy, also reflected in our rejection of the NPT, that is Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

It has been shown that knowledge and technology cannot be the monopoly of a handful of countries. In 1974, India carried out a successful peaceful nuclear explosion, demonstrating its nuclear capability. For 22 years, we have exercised a policy of unparalleled restraint and refrained from undertaking additional tests. Yet, as has been stated in this House by the previous Governments, we continue to maintain our option so that we are able to take all necessary measures to cope with any threat that may be posed to the security of the nation. We cannot

allow this option to be restricted in any manner if other countries remain unwilling to accept the obligation of eliminating their nuclear arsenals. We are deeply conscious of the fact that other countries in our region continue their weapon programmes, whether openly or in a clandestine manner. On the basis of recent statements and developments, we have been obliged to conclude that the nuclear weapon states have no intention of giving up their nuclear weapons. This makes it inescapable that our national security considerations will be the governing factor in our decision making.

Hon'ble Members are aware of the plenary statement made by our Permanent Representative in the Conference on Disarmament on 20th June on CTBT. We undertook consultations on this issue, cutting across party lines, in order to ensure that the statement reflected a national consensus. In the statement, we announced that India cannot subscribe to the CTBT in its present form. We have also subsequently indicated that we will be constrained not to associate ourselves with the international monitoring system being set up to verify the CTBT. We stated that in the light of our clear stand on this issue, we are unable to accept any obligations which affect our sovereign right of decision-making. Since then, a new draft text of the CTBT has been introduced. Discussions on this are scheduled to resume on 29th July in Geneva. On the face of it, the new text does not attend to the issues that we have been raising. Therefore, we cannot endorse it or accept the text of it in the present form. (*Interruptions*) I have said that there are some mistakes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): He has said that there are some mistakes.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: We will remain engaged in the discussions when these resume on 29th July in order to ensure that our freedom of action is not constrained in any manner. Our approach will remain a responsible approach but we have to safeguard our national interest. If other countries reach their own consensus, that is their sovereign decision. We would expect that all countries will respect our decision and ensure that the Treaty, with which we will not be associated, not impose any obligations on India. These views will be conveyed to the Conference on Disarmament.

1.00 P.M. I have taken this opportunity to keep Honb'ble Members informed about the Government's policy on this issue and I hope that this will enjoy their support. I would like to assure this House that the Government sees this as an issue of vital national concern and is fully conscious of its responsibility. We have demonstrated the strength of our conviction and national resolve in the past. We remain confident that we can do so again.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Now we adjourn for lunch till 2 o'clock.

The House then adjourned for lunch at one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at four minutes past two of the clock,

The Vice-Chairman (Shri MD. Salim) in the Chair.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri Md. Salim) *in the Chair.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): We will now take up the clarifications on the statement made in the forenoon by the hon. Minister of External Affairs. Shri Ramdas Agarwal.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल (राजस्थान): उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, व्यापक परमाणु-परीक्षण प्रतिबंध संधि पर हमारे विदेश मंत्री महोदय का वक्तव्य सदन के सामने आया है। भारत एक सार्वभौमिक देश है और अपनी अस्मिता और अखंडता की रक्षा करना यह हमारा अपना अधिकार है। यह 90 करोड़ का देश किसी की दया या किसी की सहायता का मोहताज नहीं हो सकता। यद्यपि हम ऐसा सोचते थे कि इतने वर्षों के अनुभव के बाद दुनिया के जो राष्ट्र हैं, वे जिस प्रकार से हमें दबाव में लाकर या अपने प्रभाव का उपयोग करके हमको मजबूर करके एक ऐसी संधि पर हस्ताक्षर कराना चाहते हैं जो इस देश की

रक्षा के लिए, सुरक्षा के लिए अच्छी नहीं है उसका हम छाती ठोककर विरोध करेंगे। हम यह भी सोचते थे कि कोई सरकार इस देश में ऐसी बनेगी जो यह घोषणा करेगी छाती ठोककर हिम्मत के साथ, साहस के साथ कि यदि हमारे पड़ोसी देश, हमारे आजू-बाजू रहने वाले देश चाहे वे उत्तर पूर्व में हों या चाहे पश्चिम में हों, अगर ये राष्ट्र अणु बम बना रहे हैं तो भारत को भी अपनी रक्षा के लिए अणु बम बनाने का अधिकार है और इस अधिकार को सुरक्षित रखते हुए, भारत अपने देश की आजादी और देश की अस्मिता के लिए अणु बम बनायेगा। लेकिन अफसोस है कि कई कई वर्ष बीत जाने के बाद इंदिरा गांधी ने एक परीक्षण किया था। उस परीक्षण के समय उन्होंने एक बात कही थी जो आज भी याद आती है कि भारतवर्ष अपना आप्शन खुला रखेगा। यह सन 1968 में कहा हुआ उनका वक्तव्य है। इसको आज 28 साल गुजर चुके हैं। मैं सदन के सामने निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में यदि हम अपनी सुरक्षा चाहते हैं तो यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपने एटम बम बनाने के कार्यक्रम को जीवन्त रूप दें, उसको साकार रूप प्रदान करें ताकि देश की जनता को यह आश्वस्ति मिले उसको यह विश्वास मिले कि यदि कभी भी हम पर किसी भी क्षेत्र से आक्रमण हुआ तो यह देश अपनी सुरक्षा करने में आत्मनिर्भर होगा और वह किसी की तरफ आंख उठाकर देखने के लिए मोहताज नहीं है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज जो यहां पर वक्तव्य आया है उस पर मैं मंत्री महोदय से क्लेरीफिकेशन मांगना चाहता हूं।

आखिर, पाकिस्तान ने एटम बम बना लिया, चीन कभी न कभी, दो-तीन साल के अन्तराल में एटम बम का परीक्षण कर लेता है, फ्रांस कर रहा है, और कई देश कर रहे हैं। पाकिस्तान जब एटम बम बना रहा है तो फिर हमारे लिए एटम बम न बनाने का कोई कारण या कोई तर्क नहीं है। मैं सदन के सामने निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि भारतवर्ष पर कई प्रकार के दबाव पैदा किये जा रहे हैं। जो नेगोसियेशन अभी जिनेवा में हुआ, उसमें भी, हमने अखबारों में जो कुछ पढ़ा है उससे भी चिंता पैदा होती है कि कहीं सरकार, जो हमारी आज की सरकार है, जो लचर है, जो कमजोर है यह ठीक है, लेकिन में इस सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि इसके लिए 90 करोड़ की आबादी का देश आपके पीछे खड़ा है। अगर आप यह घोषणा करेंगे कि भारतवर्ष एटम बम बनाना चाहता है तो सारा देश आपके पीछे खड़ा होगा और दुनिया की तमाम ताकतों को यह मानना पड़ेगा। लेकिन मुझे इसमें एक संदेह पैदा होता है। अभी इस नेगोसियेशन के दौरान रूस और चीन दबाव डाल रहे हैं। हमारे सामने जो बैठे हुए लोग हैं उनसे मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आपकी सरकार में कुछ ऐसे मित्र हैं जो रूस और चीन के साथ बड़े घनिष्ठ संबंध रखते हैं। इसके कारण चीन और रूस का दबाव आपके ऊपर कितना बनेगा और कितना आप देश के हितों के सामने झुक जायेंगे यह सोचने की बात है। मैं आपको चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं कि यह सवाल किसी पार्टी का सवाल नहीं है। स्वयं हमारे विदेश मंत्री रूस में रहे हुए हैं। वे जानते हैं और वे रूस को मैनेज कर सकते हैं, वे बड़े होशियार पोलीटीशियन हैं। मैं उनसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि वे अपने प्रभाव का उपयोग करके, डिप्लोमेसी का उपयोग करके रूस और चीन जो दबाव डालने की होड़ में शामिल हो गए हैं, इससे उनके साथ किस तरह निबटा जाए, इसके लिए वह देश की जनता को आश्वस्त करें।

मैं दूसरा निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूं कि भारत सरकार इस बात की दृढ़तापूर्वक घोषणा करे कि वह किसी भी कीमत पर इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं करेगी चाहे उसको कितना ही दबाव झेलना पड़े, कितना ही अंतरराष्ट्रीय दबाव झेलना पड़े।

अमरीका के विदेश मंत्री ने और दूसरे देशों के मंत्रियों ने इस बात का दबाव पैदा करने का प्रयास किया है कि भारत को इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करने चाहिए, लेकिन भारत को अपनी सार्वभौमिकता की रक्षा की दृष्टि से इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिए बड़ी दृढ़ता के साथ मना कर देना चाहिए। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि अरूंधति घोष ने जिस प्रकार स्पष्ट शब्दों में भारत का प्रतिनिधित्व किया है हम उसकी सराहना करते हैं। उसने बड़ी दृढ़ता के साथ भारत के लोगों का विचार वहां के नेगोशिएंस के समय रखा है और उसके लिए उनको धन्यवाद दिया जाना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से यह निवेदन करता हूं कि आगे भी नेगोशिएटर्स जो आपके जायेंगे 29 जुलाई को अब फिर यह बैठक होने वाली है उस बैठक में भी भारत का प्रतिनिधित्व इसी प्रकार से किया जाए और बाकी दुनिया के लोगों को यह पता लग जाए कि भारत का देश दबाव में नहीं आ सकता और वह किसी तरह के प्रभाव में आकर ऐसी संधि पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं कर सकता जो इस देश की अखंडता को खतरे में डाल दे।

महोदय, दूसरा स्पष्टीकरण मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूं कि अमरीकी विदेश मंत्री ने अभी कुछ दिन पहले एक बात कही है, उन्होंने कहा कि, "A lot can happen in the next week." I don't know what has happened.

SHRI INDER KUMAR GUJRAL: Please repeat it.

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल: अमरीकी विदेश सचिव वारेन क्रिस्टोफर ने एक वक्तव्य में यह कहा है, उन्होंने ऊपर बहुत कुछ कहा है अगर आप चाहे तो मैं उसको पढ़ कर सुना सकता हूं। लेकिन उन्होंने यह कहा आखिरी लाईन में पढ़ रहा हूं, "A lot can happen in the next week." I don't know what he

means, whether he wants to pressurize this country or he is trying to say कि हम भारतवर्ष के लोगों को कैसे न कैसे समझा-बुझा लेंगे और वह संधि पर हस्ताक्षर कर देंगे। गए हफ्ते में क्या गुजरा यह आपके वक्तव्य से कहीं स्पष्ट नहीं है। आप स्पष्ट करें कि गए हफ्ते में अमरीका के विदेश सचिव ने जो यह बात कही है उसके पीछे उसका मंतव्य क्या है और क्या उनका दृष्टिकोण है? देश की जनता इस बात को जानना चाहती है कि यह दबाव जो हम पर लगातार पड़े जा रहा है उसको हम किसी तरह से फेस करेंगे? हम उसमें से किस तरह से निकल पायेंगे? आखिर दुनिया के देशों के दबावों के सामने कई बार हमारे लोग देश में, विदेशों में दब चुके हैं और प्रभाव में आ जाते हैं। चाहे कश्मीर का मामला रहा हो, चाहे अन्य मामले रहे हों, उसके अंदर चाहे हिन्दुस्तान-पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई हुई हो। उस समय भी हमारे देश के राजनयिक बाहर जाकर लोगों की चिकनी-चुपड़ी बातों में आकर कई बार देश के ऐसे मामले जो कि सेंसेटिव हैं, उन पर समझौता कर चुके हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा और सरकार से स्पष्ट घोषणा कराना चाहता हूं कि इस मामले में हमारी संधीय सरकार, केन्द्र की सरकार से, हमें इसमें कहने में कोई अफसोस नहीं है कि आखिर भारत का कोई प्रतिनिधि जब बाहर जाता है तो पूरे देश को रिप्रेज़ेंट करता है। चाहे किसी भी पार्टी की सरकार हो लेकिन देश यह स्पष्ट शब्दों में जानना चाहता है और कहना चाहता है कि देश आपके साथ खड़ा है, आप संधि की बात ठुकरा दीजिए। यह कैटेगरीकल वर्ड्स में आपका एशोरेंस, आपका आश्वासन इस देश की जनता को मिलना चाहिए।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं विदेश मंत्री जी को निवेदन करता हूं कि मेरी बातों का स्पष्टीकरण करेंगे। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Dr. Biplab Dasgupta.

(श्री सिकन्दर बख्त): क्या मैं एक मिनट ले सकता हूं?

†انیتا ورودھی دل شری سکندر بخت: کیا میں ایک منٹ لے سکتا ہوں۔

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MOHD. SALIM): Dr. Dasgupta, can you yield for a minute? He wants to make a point.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: बी० जे० पी० बाय एंड लॉर्ज आपकी स्टेटमेंट से मुत्तफिक है और खुश है कि हिन्दुस्तान के विकार की हिफाज़त हो रही है, लेकिन उसमें कहीं एशियान कंट्रीज़ पर जो प्रैशर लाया जा रहा है आपके स्टेटमेंट में उसका ज़िक्र नहीं है। वह साफ होना चाहिए।

†شری سکندر بخت: بی۔جے۔پی۔ بائے اینڈ لارج آپکی اسٹیٹمینٹ سے متفق ہے اور خوش ہے کہ ہندوستان کے وقار کی حفاظت ہو رہی ہے۔ لیکن اسمیں کہیں ایشین کنٹریز پر جو پریشر لایا جا رہا ہے آپکے اسٹیٹمنٹ میں اسکا ذکر نہیں ہے۔ وہ صاف ہونا چاہئے۔

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think that on this issue there is a broad measure of consensus within the country and in the House. This Test Ban Treaty, to sign which our arm is being twisted, is a bit of a charade—it is a sham—because already the big countries, which have got nuclear arms, have conducted dozens of tests all over the world. With the data available on the tests, they don't need explosions any more. With the developed computer technology, they can simulate the explosions on their own computers. The physical explosion part of it has now become unnecessary because of the development of the computer technology.

So, they can afford to say that they do not want to conduct any more tests because they can test on computers, but they do not want us to have the option of conducting any tests.

It is also unfair because these very big countries, nuclear countries, have a total monopoly on nuclear power. They have the opportunity to go in for disarmament. There were many opportunities since 1954, more than 40 years ago, particularly since 1991. When they themselves are saying that the cold war has come to an end, still they have not taken any steps to destroy the nuclear stockpile. With the stockpile they have, they can destroy the entire humanity many times over. Unless there is a clear timetable for their doing it and unless they express their determination that they are going to destroy the nuclear stockpile, there is no reason for us to accept this monopoly of unclear control in the hands of a small number of countries.

I also find it very discriminatory, discriminatory because they discriminate between countries like Israel and countries like Iraq. In the case of Iraq, they went there and did everything to decimate the country's nuclear capacity, and, on the other hand, when it came to Israel, they turned a blind eye towards the development of nuclear potential of Israel. Similarly, when it came to Pakistan, they turned a blind eye to the developments which were going on in Pakistan. In fact, as you all know, when the whole question of America delivering some jet aircraft and all that came up last year, America was, in fact, willing to give one-time exception to the Pressler Amendment in the case of Pakistan so that Pakistan could be given those deliveries. So, you can see a greater discrimination here. Countries which are pro-west, are permitted to have nuclear capacity. They are even supported in many clandestine ways to continue with their operations, but, on the other hand, the countries which are perceived to be opposed to western interests, are not allowed to develop nuclear capacity. So, from that point of view, I think that our demand for a total and comprehensive disarmament is a very legitimate one, and we should certainly stress our position very strongly in the world community.

I have, of course, one subtle difference, despite the consensus, with our friends from the BJP. The BJP position is that we should go in for manufacture of nuclear weapons from tomorrow: our position is that we should keep that option. That does not mean that we should exercise the option tomorrow. If it is necessary for the country, certainly we should go in for it, but, certainly it does not mean that we should immediately go in for such a nuclear preparation. The understanding we get is that a nuclear armament of that sort will cost something like Rs. 20,000 crores a year. That is too large an amount for us, a country like India, to afford. If we look at the figures, for example, India now spends something like 14 per cent, slightly more than 14 per cent, of its total budget, of the total Government expenditure, on defence; Pakistan, something like 26 per cent or so, about twice our figure in percentage terms, if not in absolute terms. But, we are completely neglecting some other expenditures like that on education and that on health. They together account for not more than 4 per cent or 5 per cent in India's case. So, that is something that we should keep in mind. We should keep the option. If it is necessary, we should avail of it, but that does not mean that we should exercise the option tomorrow. This is one difference we have with our friends in the BJP.

The second difference perhaps is in relation to Pakistan. I feel this fight against Pakistan, this arms-race with Pakistan is benefiting neither India nor Pakistan. It is benefiting the armament industry in the world. I remember the unfortunate war between Iran and Iraq for more than nine years. When the war was going on, the same European consortium of armament manufacturers decided, "All right, you deliver machine guns to Iraq. We will deliver planes for Iran." So, the same consortium was making money out of both Iran and Iraq during that unfortunate war.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Dr. Dasgupta, please seek clarifications on the statement.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: The point I am asking is whether the Government would not take further initiative, now that their is a change of the regime, through diplomatic offensive, to reduce the defence expenditure, to cut down on the arm-race. We may or may not succeed. That is a different question. The Pakistani military establishment may not agree with us. They may try to build on whatever they have.

It is quite possible that there would be resistance, but you can appeal to the people of Pakistan also. We should not treat the people of Pakistan as our enemies, but it is a strategic thing. Then, our own options remains. Our security should be protected. We should not fall prey to any such complacency. That also we should see. At the same time, this unfortunate arms race between neighbours should be brought down, as much as possible.

Lastly, I would like to make a point which comes to me as a bit of surprise. We have not been able to mobilise the opinion of the Third World countries in our favour. This may be partly because now there is only one world power, a significant super-power. They might be twisting arms, they might be blackmailing others, as much as possible. But still I expect the Indian Government to succeed in at least gathering support from a large number of smaller countries, poorer countries. But that has not happened. We should see that we are not completely isolated.

I would also like to know from the Foreign Minister, as a Foreign Minister whether he is planning to take diplomatic initiatives and ensure that our position on this issue is properly communicated. We should mobilise popular opinion in such a way in the world that our differences with the CTBT can be properly understood by the people as a whole.

These are some of the points on which I would like to seek clarifications from the Minister. Sir, I would like to have clarification specifically on one more point. I may be wrong with the French expression "Demarche". Is it okay?

SHRI I.K. GUJRAL: Yes, it is okay.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Okay, thank you.

Now, I understand that Americans have sent a demarche, almost a kind of threatening note. They are not saying that they are threatening you. They are not requesting you or seeking your advice or asking for your compliance on the CTBT, but actually telling you to sign the CTBT. They are saying that unless India signs the CTBT, some of the countries would not sign it; so, India by not signing the CTBT is actually spoiling it for everybody else, so, India should sign it.

I also understand that pressure is being put through some of the countries like Russia. I would very much like the Minister to clarify on this point whether it is true or not. I would also like to know the reaction of the Government on this. I would also like to know what kind of answer has been sent to the demarche received from the American establishment. These are some of the points on which I would like to seek clarifications from the Minister.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी।

श्री महेश्वर सिंह (हिमाचल प्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रधानमंत्री की सीट पर नए महानुभाव नजर आ रहे है। बदल तो नहीं गए कहीं प्रधानमंत्री?

श्री नरेश यादव (बिहार): आपको क्या तकलीफ है?

श्री महेश्वर सिंह: हम तो पूछ रहे हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री मोहम्मद सलीम): आपकी नजर हमेशा प्राइम मिनिस्टर की चेयर पर क्यों है?...(व्यवधान)...

श्री प्रणव मुखर्जी।

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I welcome the statement made by the Foreign Minister, Shri Gujral. This is one of the rare occasions when we find that the House speaks in one voice and there is a broad national consensus behind the policies which we are having. I think nobody in the country would like to compromise with the national security and I think that they feel all measures should be taken to ensure the security of the country. Therefore, the question of compromising with the national security does not arise. Apart from the security concern which is very important no doubt, there are other deficiencies because of which we cannot subscribe to the CTBT as it has emerged.

It is true that in 1954, some 42 years ago, the "stand-still" agreement which was suggested by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the CTBT which we contemplated at that point of time and the Treaty which has emerged are not the same. What is getting essentially reflected is the technological preferences of the nuclear weapon States and it does not reflect the imperative of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and it is not comprehensive; apart from other infirmities and inadequacies which are there.

Sir, a word "spoiler" has been used in the statement of the hon. Minister. It is correct that this word has been used because in the coming months, in the coming weeks, we may be described as a "spoiler" of the game in the media and in the Western countries. But there are occasions when to protect our principled stand we need not be too much worried even if we are isolated. On the NPT issue, we are already isolated because we have not signed it. While others have signed. But that has not reduced the prestige of the country, the honour of the country. Yes, we have tried to convince others our principle stand others agree with us. They may have their compulsions to go with the Treaty and we need not be obsessed with these points. If there is any "spoiler" in this game, it is not India or any of the developing country, but nuclear weapon States. They themselves are the spoilers in this game. We need not elaborate it on the floor of this House as it is known to everybody. How many times have nuclear tests taken place when negotiations were going on in the last $2^1/_22$ years? Two nuclear weapons States have openly said that they would continue to carry on with their tests untill they come to a definite conclusion and upgrade the technology. As I said earlier the proposed treaty, reflects the technological preferences of nuclear weapon States because they do not require any physical explosion. At best the Treaty may be described as a Treaty to ban nuclear weapons explosion test, but it is not the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. In any way, it is not the concept for which we have been working for the last 42 years. Therefore, my suggestion to the distinguished hon. Minister, Mr. Gujral, would be to keep in view that we should not be worried over being isolated and being dubbed as a "spoiler" of the game. We know very well who are the "spoilers" of the game. We are trying to reiterate with emphasis—a very basic principle it is if other countries have their right, exercise their sovereign right to come to a certain conclusion, if they evolve a consensus by exercising their national sovereign right, if other countries do it and the consensus is different, the conclusion is different, they should not be described as "spoilers" of the game.

The other issue I share is the sentiments expressed by my colleagues when they said that our negotiators at Geneva deserve our congratulations. They have not only expressed the interests of the country, the views of the country, very effectively but they were engaged both in constructive as well as in very hard negotiations until the last moment. They tried to ensure that we could arrive at some sort of conclusion which could reflect the national consensus. That is why it has been

elaborated in this statement and I would not like to refer to it. If they have a definite time frame in their minds, they may have a time-frame. We may be having a different time-frame. But let us negotiate and try to see where we reach. It may not be a part of the CTBT even if we say that the CTBT must have a straightforward approach towards nuclear disarmament. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am sorry I will take one more minute. When the mandate was clear, unambiguous, there were three elements in the mandate. One aspect of the mandate was to prevent nuclear proliferation. The second aspect of the mandate was to carefully and effectively initiate the process of disarmament and as a consequence to that the third element is the international peace and security.

Therefore, even in the mandate itself there is an essential element to take up effectively the process of nuclear disarmament. At least a small first step should be taken. But that was not acceptable to the nuclear weapon States and if today they try to dub us as a spoiler. I am afraid we cannot accept that position. On 29th, there may be an attempt to structure the treaty in such a manner that we may have to accept some obligation and that is the area where we shall have to resist it very strongly. Here, of course, I am quite confident that Mr. Gujral will exercise his diplomatic skill to putting forth our veto. But if it is necessary, then we should not feel shy of using it. If it is necessary. I am pointing it out to protect the long term interests of the nations we should do so, and I repeat, we are not the spoiler of the game. Somebody else is the spoiler of the game.

The last point for his consideration and the consideration of the Governemnt is that if before 29th July, in order to strengthen the hands of our negotiator in Geneva and to express the national consensus in broad terms, the Government feels it necessary, perhaps, they can come out with a resolution, expressing the opinion of Indian Parliament clearly and constructively, by passing a resolution in both Houses of Parliament. I would not insist on it as I am quite sure that the Foreign Minister and the Foreign Ministry will protect the national interest. But in order to help them to strengthen their efforts and to project the strong concern of India if you find it necessary, the Government should come forward with a resolution which can be adopted unanimously by both Houses of Parliament. Thank you.

SHRI K.R. MALKANI (Delhi): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we heard the hon. Minister's statement on CTBT with great interest. It is a matter of satisfaction that there is a consensus in the country that India must not sign the CTBT. That is a very happy development. However, there are few questions which arise. The hon. Minister said in his statment and I refer to page 3 in this respect. "Since then a new draft text of the CTBT has been introduced..." I wish the hon. Minister had given this august House some idea as to what the nature of this new draft is. I understand further—I am open to correction—that this draft says that the CTBT will come into operation as soon as India signs it. I think we should oppose this clause because once we associate ourselves with this kind of a draft, pressure will mount on us to sign it and sign it as fast as possible. We must not fall into this trap. I also understand that there is a move that if this Disarmament Committee so decides, the matter can be referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations. I would suggest to the hon. Minister and to this Government, to oppose that also because certain powers have automatic majority in the U.N. General Assembly. We must not get into this trap. We are opposed to the CTBT. We must stay opposed to it. These nuclear powers, these five powers, they are acting as five *dadas* and one of them is a big *dada*. They are proceeding in their own way. They have thousands of nuclear bombs. They have not destroyed even one so far. A spokesman of the Pentagon said only last month that they would need

to keep these nuclear bombs at least for the next fifty years. And these are the gentlemen who want us not to go nuclear! A few weeks back, China had had an explosion, nuclear explosion. Last year, France had one. And they are not stopping at that. See the kind of language that they are using to frighten and threaten us! In the current debate in this Disarmament Committee, Sir Michael Weston of the U.K. said, "If you do not sign it,"—I quote—"you will be wriggling on the hook." It is like saying 'we will hang you'. British leaders are known for manners, for sophistication, for some grace. What has happended to them? From Clinton down the American leaders are issuing threats, at times veiled, many times not veiled. Mr. Wisner, His Excellency the Ambassador of USA, is advising us every other day what to do and what not to do! Is he the new viceroy of India? There are spokesmen of USA who are telling us, "We will not declare you as a rogue state. We will declare you as a pariah state, a *bhangi* country!" I do not know which is better, being pariah or being rogue, but this is the language they are speaking.

My good friend Biplab Das said the BJP wants the bomb to be made tommorrow. I would like to correct him we do not want to build it tomorrow; we wanted it to built yesterday; we have been wanting it built for the last thirty years. He quoted certain figures saying that if we go in for the bomb, it will cost two hundred or two thousand or twenty thousand crores. May I remind him of the press conference held by Dr. Homi Bhabha in New Delhi? I have forgotten the year; it was either 1963 or 1964. And he was asked at the press conference, "Sir, we do not want to build a nuclear bomb, but if the Government were to ask you, how long will it take you to make it?" he said, "We do not want to make it, but if the Government were to ask us to do it, the Hiroshima-type bomb can be made by us within two years."

Another question was: "Sir, we do not want to make the bomb, but if we do decide to go in for it, what will it cost?" And you will be surprised at least I was surprised—when, Dr. Homi Bhabha said 'it will cost just five lakh rupees!' sir, we do have to frighten ourselves. Let me tell you one thing; we have had this capability since 1959. Had we had a couple of bombs in our callar there would have been no India-China war in 1962, there would have been no India-Pakistan war of 1965. In 1947 India became free. China's revolution came two years later. For the next ten years we were miles ahead of China. Today we are miles behind China. We know there have been many factors, but a very significant factor is that China could think straight, talk straight, act straight. They went in for the bomb. We developed cold feet. Today we are miles behind. I have never been much of an admirer of Mrs. Gandhi, but I must salute her for what she did at Pokhran. I only wish that she had persued with that programme and not developed cold feet very significant factor is that China could think straight, talk straight, act straight. They went in for the bomb. We developed cold feet. Today we are miles behind. I have never been much of an admirer of Mrs. Gandhi, but I must salute her for what she did at Pokhran. I only wish that she had persued with that programme and not developed cold feet.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Malkani, will you now seek your clarifications?

SHRI K. R. MALKANI: Pardon? Who is asking?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MOHD. SALIM): From the Chair I am asking. You restrict yourself to seeking clarifications.

SHRI K. R. MALKANI: The Government says, the all-Party meeting says that we want to keep our nuclear option open. What is the point in keeping it open when you do not avail of it? What kind of option is it if you do not use it?

Do it quietly and then announce that you have two or ten bombs and go and sign a CTBT, any damn thing, as a nuclear weapon power. We have started to shoot up. Let us not forget that this nuclear thing is not just military. It is political, it is economical, psychological. Indians will feel very different if India were to become a nuclear power. They will be able to stand erect. To day nobody cares for you. These Johnnies come and threaten us. Let us tell them what we mean. My last point is this. Some American spokesman have also threatened that they would stop our multilateral loans. They can do their best or the worst or whatever they want. I have a very simple question to put. I wrote to the hon. Finance Minister seeking information on this aspect. I hope I get a response soon. This question is: Is it a fact that we do have something like 18 to 20 billion bollars of foreign exchange? Is it a fact that Seventeen billion dollars are not Keptin India, but they are kept with the Federal Reserve Bank of the USA and some American Banks. I would beg of the Government to come out with facts. I would like to know whether this arrangement exists and why it exists and since when it has existed because in this situation they can just freeze our assests. They can do whatever they want to do. That is all I have to say. Thank you.

श्री जलालुदीन अंसारी (बिहार): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे माननीय विदेश मंत्री जी ने व्यापक परमाणु परीक्षण प्रतिबंध संधि पर जो सदन में बयान दिया है, उसका हम आम तौर पर समर्थन करते है। यह भी सही है कि भारत परमाणु हरिथयारों के निर्माण पर प्रतिबंध और पूर्ण निःशस्त्रीकरण का पक्षधर रहा है लेकिन आज भी दुनिया के अंदर कई बड़े देश हैं जो परमाणु हथियारों का निर्माण कर रहे हैं। परमाणु अस्त्रों का परीक्षण कर रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में भारत उनकी सारी बातों को माने जिसका नेता अमेरिका है, जो कहता कुछ है करता हुछ है। और भी देश ऐसे हैं जिसकी चर्चा हमारे मित्रों ने की। लेकिन मूल में तो अमेरिका है। वह जैसे चाहता है, अपने हितों को ध्यान में रखते हुए वैसे ही कराने की कोशिश करता है। लेकिन अच्छी बात है कि हमारे भारत के प्रतिनिधि ने भारत सरकार ने इस संधि पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं किए। जब कई देशों में इस तरह के निर्माण और उसके परीक्षण के सिलसिले जारी है, वैसी स्थिति में सी०टी०बी०टी० पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं किये गये, यह अच्छी बात है लेकिन फिर 29 जुलाई को जेनेवा में नया ड्राफ्ट आया है, जिसका जिक्र स्टेटमैंट में विदेश मंत्री जी ने किया है। इस नये ड्राफ्ट में कौन-सी ऐसी नई चीजें हैं, इसकी जानकारी सदन की मिलनी चाहिए। वह जो था, उस पर भारत ने हस्ताक्षर नहीं किए। नया ड्राफ्ट जो 29 जुलाई को जेनेवा में पेश होने जा रहा है, उसकी मूल बातें क्या है, यह सदन को बताया जाना चाहिए। हम माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहेंगे कि उसकी मूल बातें क्या हैं क्योंकि यह देश की सुरक्षा और राष्ट्र हित से जुड़ा हुआ प्रश्न है और जब इस तरह की संधि पर आप हस्ताक्षर करें तो राष्ट्र की सुरक्षा और देश के हित को ध्यान में रखते हुए हस्ताक्षर करें। मैंने शुरू में ही कहा कि भारत ने विश्व शान्ति आन्दोलन में अपनी महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की है। परमाणु हथियारों के निर्माण पर प्रतिबंध लगे और पूर्ण निःशस्त्रीकरण हो, इस दिशा में भी भारत की भूमिका पूरी दुनिया में सराहनीय रही है। लेकिन हाल के कुछ बरसों में जबकि हम तीसरी दुनिया के नेता के रूप में पहल करते थे, अब यह पहल हमारी घट गई और भारत सरकार ने यह पहल छोड़ दी। इसका कारण यह लगता है कि अमरीकी दबाव के कारण इस पहल को भारत सरकार ने छोड़ दिया है। आज भी जरूरत है कि इस प्रश्न पर तीसरी दुनिया के देशों के साथ इस दिशा में भारत पहल करे, उनको गोलबन्द करे ताकि अमरीका और उसके जो चन्द मित्र हैं, जो दबाव डालकर इस तरह की सन्धि पर हस्ताक्षर कराना चाहते है, वह सन्धि न हो सके। हमारा यह सुझाव है और हम यह चाहेंगे कि यह जो 29 जुलाई को जेनेवा में पुनः नया प्रारूप आ रहा है, जिस पर आप विचार करने जा रहे हैं, उस पर आप हाउस और देश की जनता को आश्वस्त करें, विश्वास दिलाये कि अमरीकी दबाव में आ कर के देश की सुरक्षा और राष्ट्रहित को किसी भी कीमत पर छोड़ेगें नहीं। इस बात को ध्यान में रखते हुए भारत सरकार नये ड्राफ्ट को मानने के लिए और नहीं मानने के लिए स्वतंत्र है। इस बात का जवाब हम आपसे चाहेगे। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

†جناب جلال الدین انصاری، بہار

†[ ] Transliteration in Arabic Script.

نے دستخط نہیں کئے۔ نیا ڈرافٹ جو ۲۹ جولائی کو جنیوا میں پیش ہونے جا رہا ہے اسکی مول باتیں کیا ہیں یہ سدن کو بتایا جانا چاہیئے۔ ہم مانیئے منتری جی سے یہ جاننا چاہینگے کہ اسکی مول باتیں کیا ہیں کیونکہ یہ دیش کی سرکشا اور "راشٹر ہت" سے جڑا ہوا سوال ہے اور جب اسطرح کی سنستھا پر آپ ہستاکشر کریں تو راشٹر کی سرکشا اور دیش کے ہت کو دھیان میں رکھتے ہوئے ہستاکشر کریں۔ میں نے شروع ہی میں کہا تھا کہ "بھارت نے وشو شانتی آندولن" میں اپنی "مہتوپورن بھومیکا" ادا کی ہے۔ پرمانو ہتھیاروں کے نرمان پر پرتیبندھ لگے ہیں اور "پورن نی شستری کرن ہو" اس دشا میں بھی بھارت کی بھومیکا سرمنڈیئے پوری دنیا میں رہی ہے۔ لیکن ہال کے کچھ ورشوں میں جبکہ ہم تیسری دنیا کے نیتا کے روپ میں پہل کرتے تھے اب یہ پہل ہماری گھٹ گئی اور بھارت سرکار نے یہ پہل چھوڑ دی اسکا کارن یہ لگتا ہے کہ امریکی دباؤ کے کارن اس پہل کو بھارت سرکار نے چھوڑ دیا ہے۔ آج بھی ضرورت ہے کہ اس سوال پر تیسری دنیا کے دیشوں کے ساتھ اس دشا میں بھارت پہل کرے۔ انکو گول بند کرے

وِدیش منتری جی نے "وِیاپک پرمانو پریکشن سمندھی پر" جو سدن میں بیان دیا ہے اسکا ہم عام طور پر سمرتھن کرتے ہیں۔ یہ بھی صحیح ہے کہ بھارت پرمانو ہتھیاروں کے نرمان پر پرتیبندھ اور پورن نیشستری کرن کا پکشدھر رہا ہے لیکن آج بھی دنیا کے اندر کئی بڑے دیش رہے ہیں جو "پرمانو ہتھیاروں" کا نرمان کر رہے ہیں۔ "پرمانو استروں کا پریکشن" کر رہے ہیں۔ ایسی استھتی میں بھارت انکی ساری باتوں کو مانے اور جسکا نیتا امریکہ ہے جو کہتا کچھ ہے اور کرتا کچھ ہے۔ اور بھی دیش ایسے ہیں جسکی چرچہ ہمارے متروں نے کی۔ لیکن مول میں تو امریکہ ہے وہ جیسا چاہتا ہے اپنے ہتوں کو دھیان میں رکھتے ہوئے ویسے ہی کرانے کی کوشش کرتا ہے۔ لیکن اچھی بات ہے کہ ہمارے بھارت کے پرتیندھی بھارت سرکار نے اس سمندھی پر دستخط نہیں کئے گئے۔ یہ اچھی بات ہے لیکن پھر ۲۹ جولائی کو جنیوا میں نیا ڈرافٹ آیا ہے۔ جسکا ذکر اسٹیٹمنٹ میں وِدیش منتری جی نے کیا ہے اس نئے ڈرافٹ میں کونسی نئی چیزیں ہیں اسکی جانکاری سدن کو ملنی چاہیئے۔ وہ جو تھا اس پر بھارت

تا کہ امریکہ اور اسکے جو چند مترجم ہیں جو دباؤ ڈال کر اسلحہ کی سنڈھی پر ہمارا کنٹرول کرنا چاہتے ہیں۔ وہ سنڈھی نہ ہو سکے۔ ہمارا یہ سجھاؤ ہے اور ہم یہ چاہیں گے کہ یہ جو ۲۹ جولائی کو جنیوا میں دوبارہ نیا پرا روپ آ رہا ہے جس پر آپ وچار کرنے جا رہے ہیں اس پر آپ ہاؤس اور دیش کی جنتا کو یقین دلائیں و شواس دلائیں کہ امریکی دباؤ میں آ کر کے دیش کی سرکشا اور راشٹر ہت کو کسی بھی قیمت پر چوٹ پہنچنے نہیں اس بات کو دھیان میں رکھتے ہوئے بھارت سرکار نئے ڈرافٹ کو مانے یا نہیں مانے کیلئے آزاد ہے۔ اس بات کا جواب ہم آپ سے چاہیں گے۔ انہی شبدوں کے ساتھ میں اپنی بات سماپت کرتا ہوں۔

"ختم شد"

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, on the issue of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, we can say that we have virtually changed our position. That is what we have been accused of. In 1954, we were its pioneers. But today, India being projected as the spoiler of the Treaty. The stand taken by us is not even appreciated by the non-nuclear States. I think we need to do two things. We need to open up our diplomatic channels in such a manner so that we are able to convince the non-nuclear States about the geo-political situation we are faced with today. We are surrounded by countries which have these weapons. We have made many efforts to improve our relations with them. But we are not getting a favourable response from them. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether there is a clause in the treaty which states that if the geo-political situation is such that a nation feels insecure or there atened, in such a situation, it can choose to opt out of the Treaty. I would like to know if such a clause exists in the new Treaty and whether it is going to be discussed. Iran has suggested or has brought in a new draft during the Geneva conference. It was seeking to introduce some new elements into the draft. May I ask the hon. Minister whether we have conceded the new points.

Is the draft, given by the Government of Iran, still part of the discussion or not? The third clarification that I want to seek is this. There are nearly five kinds of tests which have been identified. No decision has been taken. Some tests have been identified as being for peaceful purposes and others have been identified as being part of a weapon-developing process. In this new text which is now being introduced on 29th July, I would like to know whether any kind of discussion or any kind of differentiation is being introduced, and if it is being introduced, what our stand is. I hope that the Minister will take into consideration the fact that in the discussions that have been taking place since the last two-and-a-half years, China and France had taken one position. Now, China has changed its own stand and has gone in for a stand which is different from the earlier one. In this situation, I would like to know what the response of the Minister is going to be. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI JOHN F. FERNANDES (Goa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in 1954, India was one of the initiators of this movement. But when we initiated this movement, it was not made as if it was meant only for us and not for others. Now we have been cornered. We are being asked and forced by the other countries, the so-called superpowers, the nuclear countries, that we should sign this agreement. On

20th June this year, when Governments were formed and unformed in New Delhi, it was the bureaucrats who debated and discussed it at the Geneva Conference. I compliment them for taking this decision very boldly. It only shows that India has a firm foreign policy, a policy which with-stood change of Governments in this country. It is because this is a policy to which we have commitment irrespective of any political party. Sir, in 1960, India was labelled as a PL-480 country, maybe, because we were one of the countries which went for alms, not for nuclear arms but to get food from abroad, and things were imposed on us. But in 1974, when we tested the first nuclear device, India was the sixth country in the world, after the five superpowers, to explode a nuclear device. And for the last 22 years, we have shown to the world that this nuclear technology has been used for the development of our country, for peaceful purposes. Sir, we have seen in the reports that the Vice-President of the U.S., Mr. Dole, is in Moscow. There are also reports that some pressure will be brought on India. He is having talks with his Russian counterpart. It is an open report. I do not know whether the Government has expressed any resentment or any objection to it and whether they have sent any signal to the Pentagon to the effect that such arm-twisting will not be tolerated. We have seen what happened a few years back when we were supposed to get the cryogenic technology from Russia. The Americans influenced them and the relationship between the two countries was disturbed. Again, we have seen in the Press that the third world countries in our own region are being coaxed, sort of pressurised to go against India because we are not members of ASEAN. But this is a groups which considered India as the leader of the third world countries. When all these movements, diplomatic movements, are going on, I do not know what the reaction of the Government of India is, whether we have approached them or whether we have taken any step to neutralise what is happening around us. Sir, the Minister has mentioned that on 29th July, we are going to start the negotiations again. I do not know what the text of that is. From the statement of the hon. Minister, I don't find that there is much of a difference. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me say that all these countries which are trying to pressurise India to sign it are themselves not for it. It is because they still feel that these are commercial matters. For our defence, we have to buy the Mirages from France and for the defence of Pakistan, it has to buy the F-16s from the USA. Therefore, these are noting but commercial matters, commercial agreements or pressures which the nuclear superpowers are imposing on us. With these submissions, I hope the hon. Minister would clarify the points raised by me.

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

SHRI SAIFULLA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, most of my colleagues have spoken on the question of manufacture of an atom bomb. Of course, it is a good thing to go in for the manufacture of atom bombs. But, for the time being, I don't think manufacture of an atom bomb will solve the problems of our country.

First of all, all our political parties must be committed and should tell the public that there is unity in multiplicity in our country that religions and castes will not play more role in India. Only then the strength required for our country will come to us. If we keep on fighting on religious issues, no atom bomb could help India. First of all, we must get together so that we could be strong. All our political parties should convince the people of India that they are not in the habit of demolishing mosques, temples and churches. Unless we do this, unless we create confideene in the general public, any discussion on the question of manufacture of atom bombs would not solve the problems of the country. Moreover, the people of India are not for the atom

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bomb or the religion. They want food; they want jobs. All these things are there.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what is he speaking?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Mr. Ahluwalia, it is his maiden speech.

SHRI SAIFULLA: My submission to the hon. Minister is that preparation of an atom bomb is not required for India at the present time.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir.

श्री नरेश यादव: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय मंत्री जी ने जो वक्तव्य प्रस्तुत किया है, मैं उसका पूर्णतया समर्थन करता हूं। साथ ही साथ अपने तमाम साथियों ने जो अपनी राय यहां पर व्यक्त की है, उनसे अपने को सबद्ध करते हुए मैं सिर्फ एक स्पष्टीकरण चाहता हूं।

महोदय, विदेश नीति की नींव पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने इस देश में रखी और पूरी दुनियां में 1954 के बाद हमारी गुटनिरपेक्षता की नीति को स्वीकार किया गया। हम कहीं न कहीं उस गुट-निरपेक्ष नीति के अग्रणीय नेता की भूमिका निभाते रहे। आज स्थिति ऐसी आ गई है कि अपनी भूमिका को निभाना छोड़कर पूरी दुनियां के झुकाव के आगे हम पड़ गए हैं। हम इस बात से अलग नहीं हो सकते हैं। हमारी नीति निशस्त्रीकरण की रही है, हमारी नीति शांति की रही है। मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश को इस बात का गर्व है कि हमारे विदेश मंत्रियों के रूप में एम० सी० चागला और वी० के० कृष्णमेनन और अन्य सुप्रसिद्ध व्यक्ति आए। आज भी सौभाग्य से देश को ऐसा विद्यवान विदेश मंत्री मिला है। तो मैं आपसे यह जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या भारत की ओर से समानता के आधार पर कोई ऐसा प्रस्ताव भेजे जाने पर विचार करेंगे जो शांति का प्रस्ताव हो, निशस्त्रीकरणम का प्रस्ताव हो जिसको पूरी दुनिया माने? अकेले यह नहीं भारतवर्ष को ही मानना पड़े। दबाव जो बढ़ रहा है उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए हम चाहते हैं कि हम अपनी ओर से, अपने देश की ओर से निशस्त्रीकरण का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत करें जो पूरी दुनिया के देशों, चाहे वह बड़ा हो या छोटा हो, वह उसके लिए बाध्य हो? क्या आप कोई ऐसा प्रस्ताव लाने के बारे में विचार करेंगे?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Shri Gopalrao Vithalrao Patil. Mr. Patil, two of your party colleagues had already spoken. Therefore, you please be brief.

DR. GOPALRAO VITHALRAO PATIL (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is an important issue. Therefore, you should give me at least five minutes.

The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is neither comprehensive nor is it a test ban treaty because it only considers the explosive tests and does not consider the subcritical tests or the computer-simulated electronic tests.

3.00 P.M. Therefore, this wording itself is wrong. It is unfair, unjust and discriminatory. It never achieves the objective of nuclear disarmament and, therefore, it is not in our interest to sign this Treaty. It never prevents the development of new nuclear weapons. It never prevents the transfer of nuclear technology. It never prevents the transfer of nuclear weapons from one country to the other and, therefore, it is not at all a comprehensive test ban treaty. Rather, it is only an explosive test ban treaty.

Sir, the United States has not eliminated the nuclear options and still they are giving much importance to nuclear weapons. Various studies have indicated that the nuclear upgradation programme is going on in the United States. So many experts including one Mr. Cohen have said that it is not in the interests of India to sign this Treaty because it is not in its interest. Therefore, I would like to ask a few questions.

I would like to know, as my friend Shri Malkani also asked, whether India has submitted a new draft in the Conference on Disarmament and, if so, what the contents of this new draft are. In what way is it different from the previous approach? I would also like to know whether we are going to reject the Treaty as it is after putting forth our forthright views. The last clarification, and it is an

important one, that I seek is this. It is stated here on page 2, paragraph 5, "We continue to maintain our options so that we are able to take all necessary measures to cope with the threat that may be posed to the security of the nation". And, our Foreign Secretary has made a statement which I would like to bring to your notice, wherein he says, "Nuclear options are not essential for national security". Now, is it the option of the Government? I feel that this is a very devastating statement and if the Government believes in this statement, then where is the need for refusing to sign the C.T.B.T., because if nuclear weapons are not essential for national security, then for what else would we like to have the nuclear weapons? Now, we are talking of more and more transparency. Let us come forward with our own policy. Are we going to manufacture nuclear weapons? Are we going to develop strategic nuclear delivery capability, that is, the delivery system of missiles, that is, Prithvi, Agni, Akash and Nag? Do you believe in national consensus? A survey was conducted and an opinion poll was taken by a newspaper wherein it was found that there is an overwhelming response from the people of India in favour of manufacture of a bomb.

Sir, taking into consideration the consensus of the House and the opinion prevailing in the country, I would like to know whether the Government thinks it worthwhile in our prime national interest of security that we should manufacture a bomb and develop a delivery system of missiles. Thank you very much.

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me begin by thanking my hon. friends for all the support and appreciation that I have received from all sides of the House. And, I think, this is the strength of India.

Every foreign policy has its primary duty and that duty is to defend national interest, primarily security. Therefore, the strength does not lie only in the Government, the strength emanates from the nation as such. I think it is one of the good things for India that on the issue of security, on the issue of foreign policy we all agree. The statement that I have made also represents that consensus. It represents the united will of the nation and that is its strength and I draw a great deal of strength from this. We are all humble in our own personal capacities, but we belong to a proud nation, we belong to a nation that knows how to defend itself, it has a legacy, it has a tradition, it has a history and all these things bind us and direct us to follow and safeguard our national interest. I hope, I am not called upon now at this stage to spell-out the national interest—of course, that one can do it. But, I can only say this thing that while we were discussing the CTBT in Geneva and elsewhere, we have followed a tradition. I think it is an interesting thing that the negotiations on the CTBT began two-and-a-half-years ago. The negotiations continued despite the fact that there have been changes in the Government—in this House itself we had Mr. Pranab Mukherjee as the Foreign Minister, we had Mr. Sikander Bakht as the Foreign Minister and now it has fallen to my lot to sit in this seat. All of us have gone in for the same policy and that is the real strength of India and on this I derive a great deal of inspiration.

Many things have been said to which I would like to come, but to begin with, I must say that one question has been raised whether a new draft has been introduced. Yes, it has been introduced, but I must say that the draft treaty text introduced on the 28th June is not different from the earlier text in its basic character. Some minor technical changes have been made. That is why I have stated that the next text does not attend to the issues that are of concern to us. I think, therefore, our line continues. There is a provision in the new draft. Some friends have raised the issue of withdrawal from the treaty. Article 9 says "for withdrawal six months 'notice" if supreme interests are jeopardised. It was in our earlier text as well. It is not

something new. It was there as well.

Some friends have asked about the Iranian Text. The Iranian Text was presented in February, 1996. It had some positive aspects, but this was not accepted, and therefore, it does not form the text in the coming discussions. The new CTBT text states that after ten years the States and parties will decide by consensus if peaceful nuclear explosions are to be permitted under some conditions and those conditions should be determined at that time. This, I think, does not take us anywhere. I would only like to say this thing, Sir, at this stage, that my friends have talked about what is the meaning of having an option. I think to a learned House like this I don't have to spell-out how a country decides or how the custodians of security decide what weapons to use and when. That always depends upon the threat perception. How do we perceive a threat? What type of instruments, what type of capacities and what type of weapons should be used at one time. That I think we will have to leave to the good judgement of those who are the custodians of our security. As of today—and not tomorrow—it is felt that we do not need any nuclear weapon. Whether we will need it tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, naturally, cannot be said and that is what the preservation of option means. We are a sovereign country and it is our sovereign right to decide with what type of weapons we have to defend ourselves; that also depends upon your Foreign Ministry, your Ministry of Defence and all other paraphernalia of the Government plus all the friends sitting on the other side. All of us have to collectively keep our eyes and ears open to make up our mind as to what threat perceptions are in the short-run, in the medium-run and in the long-run and then we go on responding to that. Well, I do not question the motivation or the strength of the argument that my friends have put forward about making a bomb. I would say, let us not hurry to this thing. We are fighting a battle of wits and also the assertion of national sovereignty. As I said, national sovereignty is being asserted adequately in Geneva and I am glad that friends from all the sides have supported this. That is why I repeat the statement that I have made this morning or the statement that our Ambassador made at Geneva had the backing of the entire nation and that, I think, is far more strong thing than any weapon can offer. Ultimately, India stands for unity. Unity of what?I do not know what the population is today. I think, we are touching a billion and strength of a billion cannot be ignored. then you can think in terms of that.

My friends from the opposite side have said that if our neighbours make some weapons, if they acquire some aeroplanes, if they acquire some missiles, we also should do likewise. I think, it is a very fortunate thing that every party sitting in this House, at one stage or the other, would have seen the defence preparedness from inside. Therefore, I think, all of use have seen with certainty that we are not wanting; we are not lesser than what we should be and, I think, will keep that up. That is my assurance to you. At no stage, I can assure you, so long as we sit in power, shall we ever let you down or make you feel that we did not adequately respond to the defence needs as we should. Of course, much depends upon the exports; how much you spend on what type of army do we have; on what type of weapons we should have and these would be done with interaction among the various wings of security. Therefore, at this stage, I think, I should not go beyond that in the national interest as to what type of weapons we should have and what type of weapons we should make. It may be a good debating point for me to say this thing but one thing I can assure you is that this nation has one more tradition, that we are not chauvinistic. This nation has always stood for peace. It shall always continue to stand for peace. Some of our friends said that the Foreign Secretary of India, while

speaking in Geneva, had said that nuclear weapons were not needed. Yes, he said, so. Why did he say so? He was saying that if nuclear weapons all over the world are banished, then everyone will fell more secure and we believe that. And that is the stand we have been taking in Ganeva: For God's sake, abolish those formidable weapons which destroy the humanity. But those who have them think that they have powers in that. In Geneva they have been doing one thing. They want preservation for themselves the right to go on upgrading; go on making them more sophisticated; go on test also, whether in laboratories or otherwise, and yet go on sermonising us. At one stage I have said it and I do not mind repeating it. I have said that those who live in sin are trying to tell us the values of chastity. This is a strange type of world that we are living in and, I think, therefore, we should not possibly get upset by some utterances coming from some sides of the world.

My friends have raised some questions on whether we are being pressurised or not, whether some people are writing to us or not. Yes, they are writing. I have received communications from several countries. Some names have been mentioned and some names have not been mentioned. But, I must say that these letters are coming and we are adequately replying to them. We are restating our position. As a matter of fact, I have written to foreign ministers of the world elaborating what for we are objecting to in the CTBT in detail. I have now sent certain communications to some nations who consider themselves as friends of the CTBT. In that also I have tried to explain why India's stand is this.

Therefore, I can only assure my friends, Sir, through you, that we in India will continue taking diplomatic initiatives where we can and where it is required. It has also been asked—I want to take you into confidence—whether ASEAN is doing anything or not. In a few days' time I am going to Jakarta to participate as a full dialogue partner with ASEAN countries. There are two conferences beginning next Monday. One is on the CTBT where the ASEAN will be discussing the entire gamut of what India stands for and what type of relations we want to have with the ASEAN countries. ASEAN countries are our neighbours. We value them as our neighbours. We watch them with a great deal of admiration, the way they have built up a new type of cooperation among themselves. Now India goes there as a full dialogue partner, we will be able to find many areas of common interest where more cooperation between them and us can be built. There is going to be another regional conference, that is, the ASEAN Regional Conference. Some other countries are coming; many countries of the world are coming. India will also be there. If somebody raises the issue of the CTBT, let him raise it. We will respond on the lines that we have set here. Every country has a right to raise its point of view and express its point of view. We have equal right and we will do it with a great deal of firmness, if I may say so, with a great deal of strength because you are standing behind the Government on this issue and what we stand for. Therefore, I would only say this thing regarding the ASEAN, as Sikander Bakht Saheb has said that the ASEAN by and large, not only by and large but fully is friendly group of nations. We value their friendship. They are our neighbours and they have done admirably well. This new avenue of cooperation that is opening that we are going there as a full dialogue partner is something that we very much walcome. Therefore, I do not look at ASEAN as any body's hand-tool. I look at ASEANs nations as proud nations; I look at them as friendly nations; I look at them as nations with whom India can do business and get very close to them. My friend has talked about the third world cooperation. Yes. You know we are a member of NAM, of Group-77 and also of Group-15, all the various forums where we have been trying to build, over the years,

cooperation amongst ourselves— sometimes highly successfully, sometimes partially sussessfully and sometimes we are frustrated. This is how the world goes. In this particular CTBT, it is not that the third world nations are not appreciating our stand. They are appreciating. Yet there are certain pressures in the world. There are many nations in the third world who really are not in this game at all. Ultimately we are five plus three, as they call it; the five with nuclear weapons and the three are threshold nations. The main point is that India is being focussed on for particular reasons. I think in our statement we have elaborated them and I need not repeat them. My friend Pranab Mukherjee—he has gone away, but after taking my leave; so I do not question his absence in that way because he has something else to do and which I appreciate—I must say, has done his job well in this office. Therefore, whatever I am doing is a countinuity of that. It is not that I am doing something which he had not done. Nor can I question with any strength that whatever line they had taken was not correct. No! The line was laid down and the line was followed I must say for two or three weeks when my friends in the Opposition were in office, they also sustained the same line. Therefore, I repeat and as I said earlier that it is something which is a strength. Well, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has suggested some lines that we should adopt after 29th June. I think that I should not react to that now. I would leave it to the judgment of the people who are negotiating. Why are we negotiating? We want to remain in the game of negotiating because we must watch our national interest at every stage. At what particular stage we will do what and how shall we resist particular moves of others I think you kindly do not ask me to spell out the tactics in the strategy of negotiations. For that I think we will have to trust the Ministry and those who negotiate on our behalf. About a Resolution that the Parliament should pass or should not pass, I think we will discuss among ourselves at what stage the resolution of Parliament should come and at what stage it should not come. Fortunately, we have built a tradition here—and we are very fortunate, I repeat, that it is a strength—that on every move, every political party has been consulted.

And that is where I must thank all because whenever I have gone to any leader of the nation of any political party, to discuss the issue, I have always been received with great warmth and appreciation. And that is how we have evolved a policy. In this context, at what stage Parliament should do what, again I will respond only when I watch what happens to Geneva and then come to you and tell you what we should do. At this stage, I feel this *suo motu* statement is a sufficient response because after all it is being backed by all of you. It is not my statement. Ultimately, it is the statement of the House now. And, therefore, when the House backs the Statement, it is something which we should always keep in mind and that is our strength. At what stage Parliament should pass a resolution, again I repeat, we should postpone it for a while and then come to it when it is necessary. I think I have almost covered every point. Some friends have asked about missile programmes and other programmes. I think we should seek an opportunity to discuss it. This may not be the opportunity today. Therefore, when we discuss that issue — and my friend, the Defence Minister is also here, — at that time he may be able to tell you about the defence preparedness in terms of this. We are conscious of what is happening in our neighbourhood. We are aware of the fact that a new thing is being introduced in our neighbourhood. Some are there for sometime, some are new ones. Some manoeuvres are being manipulated; you can also see new strategies emerging. But I can assure you that we keep our eyes and ears open and respond to them as adequately as we can because, again I repeat, we have this

consciousness that we are enjoying the strength and backing of the entire nation. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Now we will take up the Statutory Resolution in relation to Jammu and Kashmir. The Prime Minister, Shri H.D. Deve Gowda to move the Resolution.

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, before he moves the Resolution, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, the hon. Home Minister is present here. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL: He is referring to the massacre in Bihar.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): I did not listen to that. How can you say that?

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: The Leader of the House said that Mr. Indrajit Gupta will come and clarify under what circumstances he made this statement about the Congress President.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): I can follow, Mr. Ahluwalia. Mr. Home Minister, do you want to make a Statement?

RE: REPORTED REMARKS MADE BY HOME MINISTER AGAINST PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS PARTY-Contd.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA): If you direct me, Sir, I will do it. As far as I understood, Mr. Ahluwalia just now wants a clarification about the reported statement that I made in Madras regarding the Leader of their party. First of all, I want to say one thing. If you read the papers carefully you will find that my reported statement is reported differently in different papers. It is not the same in all the papers. However, one thing I wish to say. There are two aspects of this as I found when the matter was raised in the other House this morning. One is whether I had said anything which can amount to pre-judging a verdict of the court in the matter which is now pending before the court and whether I had come to some foregone conclusions regarding the outcome of that case. I have made it clear and I want to repeat now that I have said absolutely nothing which can be interpreted as being a foregone conclusion regarding the outcome of the proceedings before the court. But if any such thing has appeared it is totally wrong. I never said anything about that. Secondly, about the prospects of Mr. Narasimha Rao remaining or not remaining as the President or Leader of his party.

Well, I want to make it quite clear that I had no desire or intention to say anything which amounts to interference in the internal affairs of another party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): That explanation is all right. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: Come out categorically. We want a categorical answer.

SHRI V. NARAYANASWAMY (Pondicherry): I would like to know whether the statement which appeared in the newspapers is true or not. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI S.S. AHLUWALIA: I would like to know whether he is contradicting what appeared in the newspaper or whether he stands by that.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI MD. SALIM): Nothing will go on record except what the Home Minister says.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I do not know which paper you are referring to. *(Interruptions)*. All I was saying was that I had no intention or desire to say anything which would be interpreted as an interference in the internal affairs of another party. If I have said something which gives such an impression, I am sorry for that. Why should I interfere in the internal affairs of your party? You should look after your own party.